NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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In Peking the word is Peace

These housewives, signing a peace appeal, are the kind of people who greeted hundreds of delegates from all over the world to the Asian Peace Congress in Peking. See the special cable on p. 5.

WAR & PEACE

The Presidential Election and the war in Korea

• *Danger of a third World War is steadily becoming more acute. In this and subsequent articles the GUARDIAN will document the reality of the war threat and the forces behind it.*

By Tabitha Petran

IN the current political campaign one feature stands out as most significant: the silence of both old party candidates on the key issue of a solution to the Korean War. Yet the evidence is overwhelming that a program—or even a demagogic promise—to end the war would assure hands-down victory to whichever party made it.

Public disgust with the Korean War is no secret. In a recent survey for Scripps-Howard papers, Samuel Lubell found the war is

> . . . causing deeper emotional anguish among voters than any other campaign issue. . . . Of all current election issues the one that stirs the harshest expressions against the administration is the draft for the Korean War.

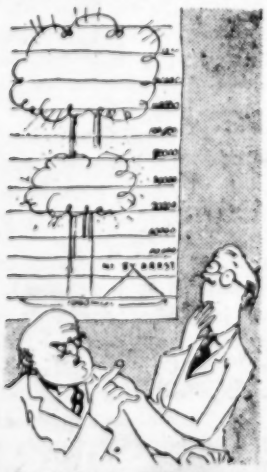
The anger is directed not only at the Democrats. Lubell noted (Phila. **Ev. Bulletin**, 9/24):

> Eisenhower's nomination has sharpened the political anguish of families with drafted sons. . . . In Eisenhower they see little prospect of any change in the draft. Some voters in fact worry whether Eisenhower "may not push us further into war." As a result, sizable numbers of Democrats who were ready to swing Republican now feel frustrated, torn between anger against the Administration and fear of a "military man" in the White House.

The Korean "stalemate," acknowledged Ludwell Denny (N.Y. **World Telegram**, 9/19), has not only

> . . . created a morale problem in the military forces [but] here at home . . . an attitude of bitterness. . . . American public opinion is rapidly souring on the Korean War.

BI-PARTISAN "RESTRAINT": But the old party candidates remain silent.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Never let us forget, Phosgene, that in the long run this experiment will bring inestimable benefits to humanity—if, of course, there is a long run."

Gov. Stevenson, whose demagogy on every other issue is matched only by Truman's in 1948, has refrained from it on this one. Said the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (8/10):

> His present wish is to avoid talking about specific solutions to the Korean dilemma unless pushed into it by the opposition. He hopes Gen. Eisenhower will use the same restraint.

Stevenson's hopes have been realized. Eisenhower and Nixon (a leading light in the Chiang Kai-shek lobby), disavowing for public consumption the lobby's Fight China program, have merely prodded the Administration "to find a way to hasten the end of the bloody Korean War" (Eisenhower, 9/23) without offering any solution of their own.

WHY NOBODY TALKS: The silence is the more ominous in face of the mounting war tempo in Korea. The **NYHT** (9/24), in an editorial "The Hot War Grows Hotter," pointed out:

> The increasing military pressure in Korea has not entered into the campaign speeches. Eisenhower did not allude to it in his Cincinnati address on foreign policy; Stevenson has nowhere given it special attention. Yet it is a fact—and a fact surely of some significance to the future of American statecraft.

Walter Lippmann (9/16) asked:

> Why does nobody who is campaigning discuss the Korean War and why we are where we are, and how we might work our way out of this dead end?

The answer is that the candidates are silent because they do not control policy. Policy today is made by the military, and military policy is not headed toward peace. Politicians of both parties tag along, completely supporting military decisions as they did in a somewhat analogous situation in Sept., 1950, when the military decided to cross the 38th Parallel—a "mistake [which] has produced two years of savage, indecisive and as to its purpose unnecessary war" (Lippmann, 9/16).

FRUITS OF FRUSTRATION: The old parties' silence has deprived the American people of any outlet for ther disgust with the Korean War. Lubell found in the Middle West, for example, "the identical feeling of frustration and disgust with both of the 1952 candidates." This mounting frustration is developing into a fascist-like irritation and is increasingly diverted against Communist scapegoats and into support for the end-it-by-bombing-China school. This is the meaning of the decisive McCarthy victory in the Sept. 9 Wisconsin primaries. Said the N.Y. **Times** (9/21):

> There is a deep and obvious grudge about Korea and McCarthy seemed to be a good symbol of it. Farmers are particularly incensed at "Truman's war" and the inconvenience the draft is causing them.

McCarthy has been a leader in attacking the Administraton for the war

(Continued on Page 5)

URGENT — ALL READERS!

THE GUARDIAN NEEDS A QUICK $10,000 to meet obligations due and payable by the end of this month.

We need it in such a hurry that, during the last few days, we have been out trying to borrow from similarly hard-pressed people—on the gamble that our readers will respond as you always have whenever we have laid such situations before you.

The money is needed to foot the bills for a very much over-extended summer and fall in behalf of the campaigns in which we have enlisted. Some of the debt dates back to mid-summer, when on one occasion we had to double the size of the paper to include the only real national coverage given to the Progressive Party convention. We printed thousands of extra copies of this convention issue, as well as of other special issues all running larger than our normal, tight little eight pages.

The task we have set ourselves must continue right through to Election Day—bringing to an ever-widening circle of people the real issues of 1952, helping arm campaign workers with the facts to combat red-baiting, the "lesser evil" mythology and the tendency of American voters to sit out elections rather than have to choose between a Democratic Tweedledum and a Republican Tweedledummer.

TO SEE US THROUGH these tasks, the extra costs come to some $10,000—and we are confident that far more than $10,000 worth of good has resulted, if the value of honest information for peace, genuine civil rights and political decency can be reckoned in dollar terms.

One big thing we have been able to do—with the extra-

(Continued on Page 2)

Hot & cold wars

KOREAN WAR: Britain's top-circulation **Sunday Pictorial** urged Foreign Secy. Eden to tell the forthcoming UN Gen. Assembly session "the world is sick of this war" and Britain must "take a hand in trying to end it."

• Ten thousand S. Koreans demonstrated against Japanese fishermen entering Korean waters under Japanese patrol-boat protection; disclosure that the former Japanese governor of the province including Seoul has been secretly living in Pusan for three months has convinced many S. Koreans that "Japan is sending agents [into Korea] to try to re-establish Japanese control of their economy" (**NYT** Korean correspondent Barrett, 9/24). Further indicating the possibility of expansion of the Korean War, Gen. Mark Clark was reported to have "urged the Japanese to increase their Defense Corps forces from the present 4 divisions to 14 within the next two years" (**ONA**, 9/25).

"PACIFIC DEFENSE": Washington turned down a second British request to send an observer to U.S.-New Zealand-Australia talks on the lily-white ANZUS pact at Pearl Harbor.

• Indian and Burmese delegates were conspicuously absent from talks in Manila on setting up a pro-U.S. Southeast Asia veterans' organization "to take an active part in shaping policies."

GERMANY: While the W. German government received with cold hostility German unity proposals brought by a delegation from E. Germany, **U.S. News'** European correspondent observed an "astonishing amount of anti-Americanism" in W. Germany, especially among workers. I. G. Farben plant employes in a Frankfurt beer hall were found by the correspondent to be all "against the Defense Pact, against rearming Germany, against the administration in Bonn . . . didn't think Russia will attack."

• 4,000 green-uniformed W. German Frontier Police began an armed field exercise "not differing much" (**NYT**, 9/23) from NATO troop maneuvers in Germany last month.

• Former British Labor Minister Dalton told his constituents the W. German government has been making "most provocative" speeches demanding "return to Germany of large areas of Poland and Czechoslovakia." Breadth of British opposition to German rearmament was shown when, in a protest against it directed to the Presidents of France and W. Germany, the five major British peace groups joined forces for the first time.

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THE MAIL BAG

Building

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Man uses two-thirds of his power
to build
And one-third of his power
To knock down half of what he
has built.
If he used all of his power to build
He would be three times as well off
as he is.
It is just commonsense
To leave off warmaking
And to use all power for building.

Vernon Ward

Good name of U. S.

BRONX, N. Y.

The N. Y. Times the other day quoted John Foster Dulles as having said in a speech before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco that "in most of the world today, we stand morally condemned of vile atrocities." The world, it seems, is shocked at such things as our wanton resort to jellied gasoline and saturation bombings to destroy the people, the towns and villages of Korea. .

From the testimony of John Foster Dulles himself, it can therefore hardly be doubted that, in "most of the world," the people want us to end the crucifixion of a whole people. It seems to me that it is the solemn duty of every patriotic American to appeal to Truman, Stevenson and Eisenhower to listen to the people of the world before our country's good name is irretrievably lost.

L. Hartman

Lullabye of the Bombs

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This is what is in my heart. We must fight hard, we must fight now. Each drop of Ethel's and Julie's and Morty's innocent blood calls out for life. "They" must never, never kill them.

Hush-a-bye Ethel,
Your children are well.
Sleep then so peaceful
In your death cell.

Hush-a-bye lady,
Your son's to the war.
Mother, oh what do
You need him for?

Hush-a-bye army,
Your gasoline jell
Kills women and children,
Wants Ethel as well.

Hush-a-bye killing,
Your time's at an end.
Speak out for Ethel, for
Son and for friend.

Helen Sobell

Helen Sobell is the wife of Morton Sobell, who was sentenced to 30 years at the time Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced to death. Ed.

Nonsense in the Baltic

LONDON ENGLAND

The "most striking feature" of the NATO armies' "Exercise Mainbrace," according to "Danish naval sources at Copenhagen" quoted by the London Times, was "the absence of any Russian activity near Bornholm [Danish island which the Soviets occupied in World War II, withdrew shortly afterwards]. . . . In spite of Soviet press attacks, the Russians have not tried to observe the operations. . . ."

There is only one explanation: the Russians, while not prepared to let pass unchallenged the provocative character of "Mainbrace," are not taking this ridiculous exercise seriously.

Churchill in 1940 was so scared of the Luftwaffe that he would not risk an overwhelmingly preponderant British fleet in the Kattegat, even when he knew that unless he did so successfully, Norway would be lost to Germany. And in the event of the war for which "Mainbrace" is pretended to be some kind of "dress rehearsal," no British, U.S. or NATO fleet would dare show itself in the North Sea let alone in the Baltic, save possibly for a purely destructive hit-and-run operation of the type carried out against Korea.

The N. Y. Times says "Mainbrace" showed Norway and Denmark "what could be done for their protection." In fact they have been shown—with Korea as an object-lesson—what could be done, perhaps, for their destruction.

Edgar P. Young (Comdr. R.N. retd.)

How crazy can you get dept.

Pasadena, Calif., Aug. 27 (AP)—Gen. Eisenhower's reference to "Man's brotherhood" struck fire at the 15th general synod of the Bible Presbyterian Church. The synod telegraphed Eisenhower Tuesday that the phrase is being used by the Communists to "condition our people for the so-called brotherhood and solidarity of a socialist order."

Youngston (O.) Vindicator, Aug. 27.

One-year free sub to the winner of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mrs. M. Marshall, Leetonia, O.

GUARDIAN's birthday

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair," said good old George Washington. And so say we all of us. Now comes good old Norval Harris with a birthday suggestion for that very standard which is the GUARDIAN. All in favor say aye, says Norval." Well, here's an aye for an aye—only a lone solitary buck in lieu of the million I can't give. But it's infinitely better than an eye for an eye—that I know. The other million will come. The standard is flying—in the breeze and on the beam! Horace Casselberry

Add 2 letters

ALISO VILLAGE, CALIF.

Wall St. calls its imperio-militaristic schemes in Europe, its crusade for the preservation of "freedom," Coca-Cola and huge profits; NATO. A parallel scheme in Asia is known as: NAPALM. Irv Chabez

Children's right to think

ALTADENA, CALIF.

According to the press lists of books "unfit" for school use, for "subversive reasons," are to be "evaluated" by a "constantly concerned" county schools supt.; subversive books are to be "detected" and persons unjustly attacked "protected." I have sent this complaint to the L. A. schools supt.:

"The public doesn't want to be 'protected' from books—by you or anyone else. You are not God; you are not omniscient. You are a public servant working for and accountable to us. The outer limit of your power is to keep obscenities and misstatements of fact out of school books. However much you may yearn for the power of censorship you do not have it. Censorship is a much more evil thing than the vague and undefined evils from which you would 'protect' us.

"Books worth reading have survived all expurgation — and they will survive you. Justice Jackson told us in 1943 that 'the compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard.' You and our school officials are hired above all to be 'concerned' that our children have unhampered access to all ideas. If you can't be 'constantly concerned' with the job you were hired to do then you should get out." Wm. B. Esterman

"Secret ballot" myth

JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

Dr. DuBois writes (GUARDIAN, Sept 11) that Negroes can "say nothing and vote secretly, as is your right." But if there is any secret ballot in the South, I've never met it, either in N.C. or Tenn., where I've done my voting for a lifetime.

Here the pollholders mark every ballot with a mark or number and write your name down in a book. Last election, I voted for Wallace; a few days later a pollholder said to a friend of mine: "Seeman was the only man in the county who voted for Wallace." My friend: "How do you know how Seeman voted?" The answer: "Oh, we have ways of knowing."

They sure have—ever since Reconstruction days. In S.C., I've heard a pollholder tell how they managed it: "After a nigger votes, if he don't vote our way, the man who keeps an eye on it touches his finger to his vest-pocket; that's the signal for the other man to throw his vote out." Ernest Seeman

Ike and liberation

ARGO, ILL.

Here are copies of a letter and picture I sent Gen. Eisenhower:

"Your 'liberation' speech to the American Legion is still being widely discussed because the shock of it generated deep fear and unrest. In my opinion, liberation, like charity, should begin at home.

"I enclose herewith, a picture of the one-room, dirt-floor shack which my husband and I and our two small daughters call home. I

would like to be liberated from this shack. I would like to be liberated from Jim Crow. I would like to be liberated from all sorts of fears: fear of atomic war, fear of unemployment, fear of polio and tuberculosis, fear of the effects on the lives of my little girls of racial discrimination and of current 'cold war' education — including atom bomb drills.

"Yet I do not want any foreign country to undertake to liberate me either by military force or by 'stirring up revolts' against my government, such as you and Pat McCarran (Senate speech, Aug. 6, 1951) request us to do in other countries.

"I feel that, given peace, we can solve our own problems. Thus I believe mothers in other countries must, by the same reasoning, want to be left alone to solve their own problems. Especially after our demonstration in Korea, I feel certain that no other people want to be obliterated—pardon—'liberated' by US."

Mrs. Vera Turner
7716 W. 62d Place

Next!

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Open letter to Drew Pearson:

"You have done a fine public service in exposing that prince of liars, Richard Nixon. Now, since that pathological liar, Whittaker Chambers, has confessed to one perjury after another, why not turn your sleuthing talents to his victim, Alger Hiss? Examine his recent plea (turned down by the Appeals Court for a re-trial on new evidence). I believe with millions of others, that Hiss was "framed" by these two unscrupulous birds to win themselves notoriety, etc. Just a suggestion for the further extension of your good work."

Selena Lamb

A lot of help

McINTOSH, MINN.

Saw the letter by M. C. S., Santurce, Puerto Rico. I fully agree with it. It's not the teaching methods which are entirely to blame, as we are desperately against war, racial discrimination of any kind. We do the best we can, but we have to contend with many things: the draft staring a young boy in the face, the frustration for them and parents and relatives, so proud of what their sons endured in the last war; some so jealous when their son is drafted as to make such ignorant remarks as "hiding behind a plow."

We are farmers and certainly could use our son at home. After long discussion he made his decision to enlist. From Japan he writes of the wonderful people he's met, the plain farmers whom he's made friends with there, and said, "It's not the little people that want war and destruction." Yes, so help me, I'll teach my four sons not to kill and destroy other people, but I'll need a lot of help from other parents. Mrs. David Fryer

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URGENT — ALL READERS!

(Continued from Page 1)

ordinary help of readers everywhere—is to introduce the GUARDIAN to upwards of 20,000 new subscribers all over America through our 4-for-$1 half-price campaign sub drive which reaches its climax this week.

These new subscribers have been receiving the paper in rapidly increasing numbers since early in August, and each such sub will continue for a full three months from the date entered.

One way we might hope to receive our much-needed $10,000 of new income in a big hurry is if you new-found readers could all be brought into our year-'round family now, at the $2 annual subscription rate. We of course will add to each full sub the unexpired portion of the special 3-month campaign subscription.

Another way is this:

Among our old-hand subscribers are some 10,000 people whose renewals are now due, or in some cases overdue. IF YOU ARE ONE OF THESE, YOUR ADDRESS-PLATE ON TOP OF PAGE ONE IS PRINTED IN RED—and we would like very much to have your renewal NOW.

OF COURSE ALL OF US who have been in the GUARDIAN family for any length of time know that 100% responses to appeals like this never happen; 20% response is colossal, 10% is excellent on the first try. The rest has to be done by mail, canvassing, all the devices of overcoming apathy and oversight—and takes a long time.

So we're depending on those who've been through the mill with us a few times in the past to crash through again now with that extra, over-worked dollor or two, stuffed into an envelope and speeded our way today.

BY RARE GOOD FORTUNE, we have a real reward for everybody who pitches in. Whether it is a renewal, a new sub from a 4-for-$1 reader, or just that extra dollar or so tucked into an envelope—we will send you a FREE copy of Carl Marzani's new book "We Can Be Friends" (see p. 7)—the most absorbing, revealing and politically potent book since the Cold War. By special arrangement with the publisher, we have obtained an advance supply of the $1 edition of this book which every progressive will agree is priceless.

So won't you get your reply into the mail today—and don't fail to enclose your address-plate from the top of Page One before you seal the envelope, so we can acknowledge your response with your free copy of "We Can Be Friends."

The address is 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.—and please let us hear from you immediately. Our need is really pressing — and Carl Marzani's book is really a sockdologer!

—THE EDITORS

POLITICS

Dem.-Rep. corruption game is a draw

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL candidate Sen. John J. Sparkman at the Des Moines (Iowa) Dinner Club last week summed up the campaign:

"Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have a monopoly on corruption."

The debate between the two major parties had boiled down to the question: which would be caught with its worst scandals showing closest to election day? The score stood this way:

The Republicans were stuck with the slush fund of $18,235 put up by 76 oil and real estate operators to pay for Son. Nixon's "travel, telephones and Christmas cards."

Gen. Eisenhower was charged with having negotiated substantial tax reduction on the royalty of his book, **Crusade in Europe.**

The Democrats had to explain: Stevenson's Christmas gifts of $18,000 to his appointees; Sparkman's wife on the government payroll; fresh scandals of $10,000,000 embezzlements in the grain storage program; last week's statement

SPORTS FINAL Newark Evening News WALL STREET

Reaction Favors Nixon;

by Theron Lamar Caudle, former asst. atty. general in charge of the Justice Dept.'s Tax Divn., to a House Judiciary subcommittee that his story

". . . would blow the White House so high it would become a satellite and the force of gravity would never bring it back to earth."

A GOOD CRY: Nixon used this exposure as a build-up for a TV true-confession show in which, according to Arthur Krock in the New York **Times,**

. . . by his skillful use of the techniques of the theatre that, in such circumstances, quickly bring tears to the eyes of this sentimental people, [he] evoked an emotional wave of great intensity.

Lost in the emotional wave were the whole question of income tax payments on the Nixon fund, and these facts:

- Auditors called in by Nixon had not examined his own finances at all but only one special fund. This fund was $29,000, not $18,235 cited by the Senator.
- Nixon had used up not only his own salary ($12,500) and his personal expense money ($2,500) but the allowed office expense fund of $60,000 in addition to the slush fund.

EVERYBODY AUDITS: In his finale Nixon tossed the ball to Stevenson to explain his Illinois slush fund. At first the Governor declined to list the recipients of Christmas presents, calling the move "a breach of faith." (The Governor has endorsed Illinois' regulations publicly listing relief clients.) Later, with the applause for Nixon's confession still ringing, and with the report by Stevenson's own state purchasing agent that in 1949-1950 $100,000 had been collected from companies doing business with Stevenson's administration, the Governor reconsidered. On Sunday he released a list of 1,000 persons who had contributed $173,000 to his 1948 Governorship campaign. Among them were many prominent Eisenhower backers. Out of left-overs of this fund, he said, he gave away $18,000 to "a small number of key executives who were making sacrifices to stay in the state government." He also revealed his income for the last 10 years totaling $500,000 mostly from "blue chip" stocks.

Eisenhower and Sparkman promptly agreed to publicly audit themselves as well. By this time the public seemed to call the battle of scandals a draw but award Nixon an Oscar for better showmanship.

WHISTLING AT WALL ST.: In another competition the Democrats last week tried to outdo the Republicans in clearing themselves of all blame for past or present peace moves. President Truman, whistle-stopping through N. Dakota, recalled indignantly that Eisenhower in 1945 had said we should get along with the Russians.

Chicago Tribune

FATE GETS AN ASSIST

"I am going to do what has been assigned to me by fate."—Gov. Stevenson

Truman assailed Eisenhower as "owned body and soul by the big-money boys." Recalling earlier successful appeals to the electorate as a New Deal champion, he said of the GOP campaign:

"The Wall St. bankers are just pouring it out."

The crowds seemed to love it, but Anthony Leveiro of the N.Y. **Times** noted:

The speech was the melancholy sequel to the Democratic Party's unsuccessful effort to make Gen. Eisenhower its Presidential candidate this year.

"DISAPPEARING PEOPLES": While Stevenson supporters were attempting to woo progressives, the Governor in what was pointedly billed as a radio "fireside chat" gave this world view:

"Whole nations have sunk behind iron curtains; whole peoples have disappeared from view . . . we can no more communicate with half of mankind than we can raise the dead. For while the anti-Christ stalks the earth, organized communism seeks even to dethrone God from His central place in the universe. . . . Now we are called upon to defend that right [to be free] against the mightiest forces of evil ever assembled under the sun . . . we must play the principal part in saving ourselves, our friends and our civilization. . . . How long can we keep up the fight against this monster tyranny? How long can we keep on fighting in Korea? . . . There is only one answer—we can keep it up as long as we have to and we will."

DISAPPEARING BOOM? Businessmen who had feared the bloom was already off the war boom found such talk good. **U.S. News** noted that they were playing the election safe. It reported from Texas:

"Many" of the same businessmen who are contributing to Eisenhower are . . . contributing to the Stevenson campaign, too.

Leo M. Cherne, director of the Research Institute of America, had them worried when he told his clients that business

". . . has no more than a year in which to prepare for a recession that may be deeper and longer-lasting than any interval of difficulty in the Thirties."

The Defense Dept.'s Economic Adviser Robert C. Turner said:

"Defense expenditures have virtually reached their peak. Increasingly, in the months ahead, we will have to rely on a rising level of consumer expenditures to maintain growth and stability. (Journal of Commerce, Sept. 9.)

MORE GUNS, LESS BUTTER: The fear was too much steel; zinc, lead and other metals for either the war boom or consumer purchasing power to absorb. The **Wall St. Journal** (Sept. 5) commented:

The economy is adjusting itself to increasingly heavy infusions of military spending. "It's like dope," says one economist. "It's a lot easier to start the habit than to break it."

The hypodermic seemed handy. Defense Mobilizer Fowler last week conferred with Sen. Maybank, chairman of the Joint Congressional Defense Production Committee, on proposals to increase war production beyond existing schedules. Wm. M. Allen, pres. of Boeing Aircraft, at the American Bar Assn. convention in San Francisco

. . . demanded more continuity and less intermittent effort in the aircraft production program, more guns and less butter, greater sacrifices of material comforts in a drastic world situation. (N. Y. Times, Sept. 18.)

The stock market, which had slumped amid peace rumors early in the month, rallied at the close.

Wall St. Journal

"We figured it out. It takes 4½ tons of paper to keep one soldier in the field."

Muriel Draper memorial

A memorial concert and meeting for the late Muriel Draper will be held at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York, on Sunday, Oct. 5, at 8 p.m. The memorial committee asks all wishing to attend to phone MU 3-2080 or write to Room 803, 114 E. 32d St., N.Y.C.

THEY WANT THEIR BOYS ALIVE—AND HOME

Two mothers and two sons

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN 22-year-old Stanley Dale Sydow of Lyons, Neb., refused to report for induction in the Army because his principles forbid support of war, he had the energetic backing of his mother, Mrs. Harvey Sydow, a long-time fighter for peace. Mrs. Sydow, a forthright woman, wrote letters to newspapers, organizations and individuals, sent out texts of many a leaflet urging like-minded people to reproduce them for wide circulation, set about to get a lawyer.

Mrs. Sydow contends that the government has no more right to seize men for the Korean war than it has to seize steel plants; she decided to force the issue to the Supreme Court if possible:

"It is unthinkable that the Supreme Court would value steel above boys. If we have no Constitution, then we are back to the law of the jungle."

AID FROM TENNESSEE: But a lawyer was hard to get; Mrs. Sydow insisted on basing her son's defense on the ground that his acceptance of army service would violate international law as embodied in the charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal which prosecuted Nazi war criminals. One lawyer responded that he had relatives in the armed services, didn't want to convict them as war criminals. Mrs. Sydow quotes another as saying "we haven't lost very many boys" and citing local mothers as "having a high old time" on monetary allotments from sons in the service. A third declined, she said, because he feared if he won the case other lawyers would denounce him as "the s.o.b. who broke it all up."

Finally she found attorney Fyke Farmer of Nashville, Tenn., who not only enthusiastically accepted the case but was opposing the Korean war on the same ground by refusing to pay taxes to be used for war purposes. Farmer represented Sydow in Omaha last June; the case is set for trial this fall, probably in November.

ILLEGAL ENTERPRISE? Farmer points out that the UN General Assembly in 1946 unanimously reaffirmed the Nuremberg Law; consequently,

. . . all the laws passed by the Congress for war-making since World War II violate international law and no citizen can be lawfully compelled to obey them. This means that war is no longer a lawful enterprise. Every citizen has the right to choose to be lawful.

Farmer now faces a tax lien of $4,733.95 against his home and other property. He has filed a federal suit against the tax collector to "test

RICHARD CAULDER

Before he shipped out

whether international law enforced at Nuremberg applies today." He has also asked President Truman to intervene:

"In 1945 you appointed Justice Robert H. Jackson of the Supreme Court as a member of the international commission to draft the charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal. This charter made individuals rather than states subject to the law.

"According to the principles of the charter which were enforced by the Tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo, it is an offense against peace to plan, prepare, initiate or wage war."

A HIGHER LAW: Farmer cited specifically this portion of the charter:

The fact that the defendant acted pursuant to the orders of his government or of a superior shall not free him from responsibility.

Farmer sums up his own case and that of Sydow:

"I am defying the nation's laws for organizing war. The way they rope me in is by laws compelling me to support war with taxes. So I break the law, but do it on the ground that there is a higher law I am obliged to obey—international law. That is the test case I am making. In the case of Stanley Sydow there is refusal to be inducted into the army. This refusal to obey national law is on the ground that the draft law is not valid under international law, which the courts of this country must apply."

The case of Richard Caulder

ANOTHER Midwest family, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Caulder, Route 5, Box 530, Little Rock, Ark., has singlehandedly set off a nationwide petition campaign for the immediate exchange and release of prisoners of war in Korea. Their son Richard is a prisoner of war of the North Koreans, was last heard from in May. The petition was drawn up with the help of the Caulders' State Senator and is addressed to the President:

It is respectfully urged that immediate action be taken to obtain release of the American prisoners of war held by the Communists. We feel that you have a duty to the citizens of the U.S. which transcends your personal concept of obligation to the Korean prisoners who state that they do not want to be returned to the Korean Reds.

Mrs. Caulder writes the GUARDIAN:

I do know we have sent out over 10,000 petitions and they are nationwide, and each petition will hold over a hundred names, so you can see how many names were sent to Washington. We have never heard anything from them. A lot of people copied our petition and made their own instead of writing us for more. . . . We have received lots of letters telling us about them writing to their Congressmen and having articles in the paper about the petition.

THE SHERIFF WAS FIRST: Typical of the letters is this one from a small town in Illinois:

I am enclosing a copy of our weekly paper [which featured the petition]. I have mailed seven petitions and next week should have a lot more to mail. A lady friend of mine, who works in the Will County Courthouse in Joliet, took one to work. She started it with the Sheriff's name and got all the Judges and employes in the building. Gas stations and business places are filling some for us; friends took some to the Texas Oil plant here and I expect to have most of them turned in filled next week.

I had sent Mrs. ——— eight petitions and yesterday she wrote for 12 more. She will really work her territory. I haven't typed for many years but am sure glad to get back and do all I can—especially for our cause. If I can help you in any way, please let me know.

Where the Guardian stands on the 'lesser evil'

IN the N. Y. **Daily Compass** Sept. 21 columnist I. F. Stone, frequently a spokesman for **Compass** policy, announced his support of the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket, agreeing "very strongly" with an unsigned argument in the Sept. issue of **Monthly Review**, independent socialist publication, for a "lesser evil" vote by progressives in the 1952 elections.

Stone admitted his announcement to be "inconsistent with a good deal I have written," but explained that "I am not going to run the risk of electing Eisenhower and Nixon by voting for Hallinan and Bass," the Progressive Party ticket of which he had formerly written and spoken favorably.

The "lesser evil" approach, akin to what the British call "worsism," has been frequently discussed and warned against in the GUARDIAN. The arguments advanced by the **Compass** in behalf of the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket have already been brilliantly refuted by former Rep. Vito Marcantonio in his carefully-documented statement on "The Other Evil" (GUARDIAN, Sept. 25).

The two letters excerpted herewith are typical of dozens received from GUARDIAN readers, all decrying the new, 1952 "worsism."

Same brew—next pot

NEW YORK, N. Y.

. . Mr. Stone's article is a sop for the timid and the unconvinced, and his support of Stevenson and Sparkman cannot further the cause of peace. These are days for fighting fascism, not for retreating. Democrat Truman started this war and in no speech of Stevenson's have I heard that he will end it. Mr. Stone gives no valid reason why one should vote Democratic.

Where is the Governor's demand for mine workers' protection? Where is the Governor's protest against the use of napalm in Korea? Where is his guarantee (aside from phrases about "leaving the door open") of a turn to a peace-seeking foreign policy? Where are Stevenson's concrete proposals for the reduction of armaments; where his recognition of any possibility other than the largely-discredited Baruch Plan? Where is Stevenson's denunciation of McCarran's concentration camps?

Many questions there are, and many answers are needed. But Stevenson doesn't have the answers: if he did, the Democratic Party would not have him! Stevenson is NOT the lesser evil; he is the same brew in the next pot. . . .

We Progressives owe it to the hopes of much of mankind to amass a significant, positive vote for the Progressive Party.

(Mrs.) Dorothy Thompson

Lesson of two evils

SUN VALLEY, CALIF.

Four years ago Harry S. Truman was elected President. Many people who should have known better heaved a sigh of relief. "The lesser of two evils," they said.

These four years have brought us a war in Korea; preparations for a third world war; the arming of every fascist, feudalist and phoney in the world who will play ball with the almighty dollar; an attack on independence movements everywhere, a spiraling inflation domestically; a lowered standard of living; test oaths; Un-American pillories; firings; jailings; deportations; all the lunatic fringe out of the woodwork; and a continuation of Jim Crow, anti-Semitism and retrogression generally.

How much worse would it have been if Dewey had been elected? 1%? 5%? 10%? How much better would it have been if the Progressive Party had polled 5 million or 10 million votes, instead of a little over a million—regardless of a Truman or Dewey victory?

Much better. The Progressives would have been a powerful, articulate voice for peace and real democracy.

We must vote against the Democratic-Republican war machine of Wall St. We must vote Progressive.

Thor d Pardee

HERE is the GUARDIAN's own editorial view:

If in the forthcoming election Republicanism should come to power after its 20-year exile, it will be because

- The independent voter and vast numbers of rank-and-file Democrats have lost confidence in and respect for the Democratic Party in the Truman years;
- These voters will elect to sit home rather than cast another "worsist" vote.

It will not be because of the presence of the Progressive Party in the field.

In 1946 millions of voters sat home in silent protest against the scrapping of the Roosevelt New Deal.

In 1948 the entry of the Progressive Party candidates and program mustered out these millions. They became the Truman majority when the Democratic Party was finally forced to adopt the Progressive-New Deal platform as its own.

In 1952 the alternatives offered by the old parties are so unacceptable as to threaten an even bigger stay-home of voters proportionately than in '46. But the presence of the Progressive ticket offers the independent voter a place to register positive convictions for peace now, real civil rights and an end to political indecency in America.

Fruits of "worsism"

The Wallace-Taylor campaign of '48 got out the stay-home vote and the Pied Pipers of lesser-evil "worsism" led it into the Truman trap. What has been the result? Disastrous shooting war; all-time high inflation; the most vicious repression of labor and racial and political minorities in generations—with the voice of protest drowned out by the Democratic hierarchy and its satellites among "liberals" and labor leadership.

The only way this voice can express itself in '52, other than by staying home in negative protest, is to vote for the Progressive Party, which positively asserts the needs of our people.

We have quoted, and quote again, the words of Eugene Debs: "You argue that you are throwing your vote away. That's right—don't vote for freedom, you might not get it. Vote for slavery—you have a cinch on that." And further: "It is far better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you **don't** want, and **get** it!"

The vote that counts

In the conditions of violent intimidation that exist today, every positive Progressive vote is worth ten such votes at any other time in our history. Every vote for the Progressive Party candidates and platform means real pressure on whoever is elected for the positive gains demanded by the people but denied them in the platforms and candidacies of both old parties.

The forces represented by both those parties, which are leading us faster and faster into the pit, are wise enough to understand this. They are wise enough to measure the significance of the Progressive Party vote next month. That is why they are bending every effort to black out the party's very existence.

Will progressive America be less wise in its generation than its enemies?

—THE EDITORS

Hallinan sounds peace call in N. Y. streets

In 22 New York street meetings, beginning at 7:15 a.m. Monday at the longshoremen's shape-up on the waterfront, winding up at a Hunts Pt. Palace rally Tuesday night in the Bronx, Progressive Party Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan

- Warned of the weakening of the American labor movement which

> ". . . will get a lot worse when the present crop of Democrats and Republicans are elected. Because of a phony 'national emergency' which will be whipped up, the right to strike is going to be denied . . . unless the Progressive Party can get a large enough vote to show conclusively that this period of reaction has ended."

- Charged both Eisenhower and Stevenson with

> ". . . planning to prolong and extend the Korean War . . . insisting that the fighting and dying go on for the sole purpose of enforcing the American demands on exchange of prisoners. This is not an issue to be shot out but talked out."

- Repeated the PP's demand to end the fighting now, negotiate the POW issue later; called on all Americans to join in a mail barrage demanding that both candidates

> ". . . stop their sterile debate about who was responsible for getting us into the war, and agree on this simple and practical plan for getting us out of it."

At least 25,000 persons heard Hallinan in the two days of meetings, in some of which he shared the sound-truck with ALP candidates Corliss Lamont (for U.S. Senate) and Howard Fast (for Congress). At one Monday night meeting alone the audience exceeded 2,000.

Where Adlai Stevenson stands: the record speaks

ON FOREIGN POLICY

AFTER purporting to chide Eisenhower's speech on "liberation" by sabotage etc. of peoples under socialist governments, Stevenson said at Grand Rapids (9/1/52):

> **"I do not believe there is any fundamental issue between the Republican candidate for President and myself."**

On a radio forum Stevenson's running mate Sparkman (N. Y. **Times**, 6/25/51)

> **. . . agreed with Rep. Walter H. Judd [R-Minn. — active Eisenhower backer] that action by underground elements was the only way the Peiping regime would be unseated. "Don't assume we are not doing anything," Mr. Sparkman said; "that aspect is not being neglected."**

ON WITCH-HUNTS

> **Mr. Mitchell [appointed Dem. Natl. Comm. chairman by Stevenson] in reply to questions whether the Democrats would campaign against Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy . . . said the party would not because it was concentrating on campaigning against communism (N. Y. Times, 9/19/52).**

Said Stevenson at Hartford (9/1):

> **"I will not accept the proposition that party regularity is more important than political ethics. Victory can be bought too dearly."**

But Sen. McCarran (D.-Nev.), who "has managed to pursue a course of refined McCarthyism behind a facade of judicial impartiality" (**NYT** editorial, 9/17), endorsed Stevenson. Asked if he would speak with favor of McCarran, Stevenson

> **. . . begged off saying he had never met the Senator and didn't know his views too well" (Wall St. Journal, 9/16).**

Stevenson's answer to Nixon's charge that the Democrats tolerate "communism in government" was that the Democrats, not the Republicans, instituted the Truman Loyalty Order in 1947. Again answering Nixon, he proudly reminded a Springfield, Mass., audience (**NYT**, 8/31) that "it was Kennedy not Nixon who got the first citation of a Communist for perjury." He was referring to Cong. John Kennedy (D-Mass.) whom Stevenson called "my type of guy." Kennedy has received and not repudiated the support of fascist Gerald L. K. Smith and anti-Semite Upton Close's recently-formed Constitution Party.

Stevenson has not taken a position on the Smith Act. But on Sept. 12 he praised the "faithful and resourceful" work of the FBI five days before the FBI arrested a new batch of 18 Smith Act victims in the West. The ADA and many unions supporting Stevenson are opposed to the Smith Act as endangering civil liberties.

ON FEPC AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Stevenson is Governor of the only major industrial state without an FEPC law, site of the Cicero anti-Negro riot, instigator of which—the White Circle League—still flourishes in Illinois after a nominal fine of $200. Stevenson has done nothing about the bombing of homes of Negroes fighting jimcrow schools in schools in Cairo, Ill. Schools are still segregated in many Illinois counties.

In 1949 an FEPC law lost by one vote in the state legislature; many of Stevenson's Democratic followers voted No, abstained or were absent.

On federal FEPC Stevenson said: "If the states are unwilling then I presume there is no alternative to having the federal government do so." Gov. White of Mississippi analyzed Stevenson's FEPC stand thus (**NYT**, 8/6/52):

> **"As to the second sentence," White said with a wink, "Stevenson says he 'presumes.' That's good enough for me. I know what 'presume' means."**

White and former Mississippi Gov. Wright (who refused to commute Willie McGee's death sentence) called Stevenson "an elegant and eloquent gentleman." Other Dixiecrat supporters include Sen. Russell (D-Ga.), Gov. Talmadge of Ga., Gov. Smathers of Fla., Gov. Battle of Va. (the latter, who refused to commute death sentences of the Martinsville Seven, called Stevenson "a high-type Christian gentleman well qualified to lead the party.")

Appearing on the same platform with Battle in Richmond on Sept. 20, Stevenson hailed the Confederate slavery constitution as

> **". . . a sound and most thoughtful document. . . . Many of your [Southern] states are among the best governed in the land. . . . Prejudices, unhappily, tend to rise wherever the minority in question is large. . . ."**

ON SECURITY

Eisenhower in Dec., 1949:

> **"I hear too much of individual security. . . . If all that Americans want is security they can go to prison."**

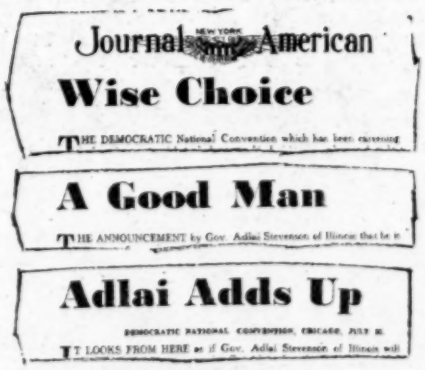
(Eisenhower's security problem: He has a $15,000 army pension for life; $25,000 from Columbia University with rent-free mansion; free govt. medical care; reputed royalties on his book of $1 million.)

Stevenson at U. of Ill. commencement, 6/18/50:

> **[He was disturbed because] "we are not behaving like a resolute breed of men. . . . We are more concerned with pensions and personal security than personal achievement."**

Stevenson is against any federal health insurance plan, public housing and the Brannan Farm Plan. His personal income: nearly $70,000 in 1951. On price control (columnist Leonard Lyons, 8/25):

> **"Stevenson asked the President not to call a special session of Congress on the matter of rising prices, lest the move be deemed political."**


Journal American
Wise Choice
THE DEMOCRATIC National Convention which has been screaming
A Good Man
THE ANNOUNCEMENT by Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois that he is
Adlai Adds Up
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, JULY 25
IT LOOKS FROM HERE as if Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois will

HEARST ON STEVENSON

Lesser evilism — 1851

"In the coming contest, I wish it understood that I belong to the party of freedom—to that party which plants itself on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. I hear the old political saw, that 'we must take the least of two evils.' . . . For myself, if two evils are presented to me I will take neither. There are matters legitimately within the range of expediency and compromise. . . . But the question before the country is of another character. This will not admit of compromise. It is not within the domain of expediency. **To be wrong on this is to be wholly wrong.** . . . But it is said that we shall throw away our votes and that our opposition will fail. Fail, sir! No honest, earnest effort in a good cause can fail."

—Charles Sumner (1811-74), quoted in "American Statesmen," p. 58.

(Charles Sumner, Free Soil candidate for Congress in 1849, elected to the U.S. Senate 1851, was one of Lincoln's staunchest supporters; a leading abolitionist, he fought after emancipation for equal rights for Negroes.)

The 1952 elections and the Korean War

(Continued from Page 1)

and in the Fight China drive. A recent Roper poll (**NYHT,** 9/15) found that 53% of Americans questioned thought the U.S. should "do whatever is necessary to knock the Communists out of Korea once and for all"; only 22% thought truce talks should continue.

FEAR OF THE PEOPLE: But even with this diversion of mass discontent, the military is fearful of American public opinon—and this fear itself is a factor in the drive to spread the war in Asia. The Pentagon, reported the **NYWT** (9/20), has prepared a "Win the War" plan for Korea because it is

> . . . afraid public resentment of the war and of the long stalemate at Panmunjom may erupt into hysteria, may force settlement and evacuation on near-surrender terms. [Top military men believe the White House will accept the plan because] they think political campaign is bringing bitter feeling about Korean War to the surface; that it can become campaign's most explosive issue.

Scripps-Howard foreign editor Denny (9/19), reporting that American dislike of the Korean War "is becoming the biggest single factor in the making of American policy," wrote:

> If this trend is permitted to continue, the time is not far distant when the public will insist on getting out. Once that happens . . . even the strongest Washington administration will lose most of its bargaining power.

THE BRASS DECIDES: Such "a defeat in Korea" would inevitably mean further defeats elsewhere in Asia and the Middle East and "undermine the will to defense in Europe." Therefore, said Denny, the new President

> . . . will be forced to reconsider Korean policy before it is too late. When he asks our military men what it will take to win the Korean War, he is likely to be told they require permission to bomb the enemy's Manchurian bases and also additional divisions for replacement.

Admission that the decision lies with the military is contained in numerous dispatches like that of Walter Millis (**NYHT,** 9/24) that "whichever man takes the oath in January will be confronted by the same problem [in Korea] and have . . . about the same freedom of decision in meeting it. . . ."

The signs indicate the military decision is to extend the war.

PROVOCATION: The Pentagon's hope to use Korea as the jumping-off place for World War III was foreshadowed in the first year of truce talks, when with each concession made by the other side, it raised new demands. The N.Y. **Times** (11/16/51) admitted:

> Even officials here in Washington conceded that it might look to the world as if the U.S. was purposely trying to avoid a cease-fire in Korea. . . .

Early this summer—with only one issue, exchange of war prisoners, remaining to be solved, and with Washington's statement that 100,000 POW's preferred death to repatriation exposed as a hoax by the prisoners themselves—Washington simultaneously took these actions:

- Virtually ended the truce talks by insisting on ever longer vacations.
- Began unilateral settlement of the POW issue by releasing 27,000 "South Korean prisoners," announcing resumption of "loyalty screenings" looking to further releases.
- Initiated massive air bombings with attack on the Yalu power plants, followed in mounting tempo by raids right up to the borders of China and the Soviet Union. Of the Aoji raid 12 miles from Siberia Sept. 2, Vice Adm. Clark said:

> "This raid is of particular significance because of the closeness of the Russian border. It signals to the Communists that we mean business and will fight for our way of life."

- Conducted naval maneuvers in China's Strait of Formosa accompanied by a huge air demonstration close to the China coast—and, according to Peking, renewed strafing raids across the Manchurian border and use of germ warfare. (The **Wall St. Journal's** W. H. Chamberlin, 8/11, while denying that the U.S. has used germ war, conceded "resort to this form of warfare would ruin the prospect of a truce in Korea.")
- Invited a group of Chiang Kai-shek's generals to confer with Gen. Clark in Tokyo. By September U.S. military authorities on Formosa were openly calling for use of Chiang troops in Korea. The **NYT** (9/8) said it was believed "the request would be approved after the U.S. presidential election, regardless of which party won."
- Began "robot raids" by pilotless aircraft, underlining again that Washington is using Korea as the Spain of World War III or—as Stevenson put it approvingly—as a "testing" ground for "a more effective use of forces and armaments."
- In recent weeks increased military pressure while

> . . . the Air Force is strengthening all combat wings in Japan and Korea to 150% of normal strength. . . . Navy's done the same thing . . . number of Marine planes and pilots has increased 75% in last few months" (NYWT, 9/22).

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

PAY DIRT

MOSCOW MOVES: Of these U.S. moves, China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai has commented:

> "The U.S. government has the premeditated intention of wrecking the armistice negotiations and expanding its aggressive war."

The seriousness with which Moscow and Peking view the war threat can be gauged by the long talks in Moscow between Soviet and Chinese military, political and industrial leaders—talks which reportedly included plans for a real disposition of forces in the event of attack.

PRESSURE IN UN: Intensified pressure in Korea has set the stage for Washington's plan "to resubmit the whole Korean issue to the UN General Assembly" convening in New York Oct. 14. Washington's ostensible purpose will be to hasten a peace. Its real aim is to get UN backing for its stand on POW's and for extension of the war, or as the **NYT** (9/11) put it,

> . . . to expose both Communist trickery and the real Communist aims, and thus again solidify world opinion which the protracted truce talks and Communist propaganda have tended to confuse.

The 16 UN nations involved in Korea have been planning "the strategy of carrying the Korean situation to the General Assembly" (**NYT,** 9/5). Recent introduction of a Mexican "compromise" suggested what the strategy may be. The "compromise"—providing for dispersion of some 100,000 Chinese and Korean POW's to UN states under what would be conditions of forced labor—is one "indirectly affirming the U.S. stand" (**Newsweek,** 9/29). President Truman was to have recommended its acceptance last week, but his statement—already cleared with Clark in Tokyo—"was withheld at the last minute" (**Newsweek**). The reason may have been British reaction which promptly spotted the "compromise" as totally unacceptable to the other side.

"DECORATIVE" PROPOSALS: Coincident with the fanfare about the Mexican proposal, U.S. negotiators in Panmunjom presented three "new" plans on POW exchange (**NYT,** 9/30)

> . . . with something close to a warning to the Communists that time for the negotiations was running out. . . . [All three] still insisted as a fundamental condition [on the] principle of "voluntary repatriation" of war prisoners.

All concentrated on a plan to bring POW's to a "demilitarized zone," after a truce, and let each POW choose.

Washington is clearly under strong pressure from its allies as well as its own people to conclude a truce. Its strategy is plain: if the other side turns down the Mexican or other proposals likely to be equally unacceptable, Washington will then have the means around which (a) to organize all-out peace demagogy to influence the elections, (b) to whip reluctant UN members into support for "all-out" war in Korea. The **NYT** (9/11) editorially warned "some UN members" that they would have to "accept added responsibility for the future course of events" in Korea.

THE BALLOT REMAINS: In a report describing U.S. bargaining for Spanish bases, Denny (**NYWT,** 9/24) said the U.S. was unlikely to divert aid from other allies to Spain because

> . . . the U.S. is too anxious for allied support in the coming showdown on the China-Korea war to anger the allies by rerouting some of their promised aid to Gen. Franco whom they distrust.

The U.S. military are preparing to extend the war in Asia. But the people of the world, and particularly of the U.S., can still change that decision.

How can American disgust with the Korean War be crystallized into an unequivocal demand for its immediate end? In this election the vote for the Progressive Party—the only party demanding an end to the war—can tip the scales between peace and World War III.

WHAT 9 AMERICANS SAW IN CHINA

Peace meets in Peking

By Israel Epstein

PEKING

IN the penthouse dining-room of Peking's brand new eight-story Peace Hotel there was a happy hubbub: the first nine of 22 U.S. delegates were arriving for the Asian Pacific Peace Conference. Outside, through great picture windows, was a panorama of golden tile palace roofs and shimmering lakes set in thick autumn foliage within an amphitheater of distant purple mountains. Inside were voices of welcome; Americans and newly-arrived Canadians shook hands with Koreans and Chinese, French correspondents chatted smilingly with Vietnamese, Iraqis with Israelis. . . .

This is the atmosphere as peoples' representatives, of whom over 200 are already here, converge from all over the world for peace, despite the U.S. dollar curtain.

THE CHILDREN'S WELCOME: "Well, how do you like it?" I asked.

"What overwhelmed me were the children who met us at the airfield," said Anita Willcox, gray-haired New York artist. "They embraced us with such spontaneous affection, which we felt was not only for us but for the American people." She spoke of the warm welcome they had had from distinguished women of China such as Kang Keh-chin, wife of Peoples' Army Commader-in-Chief Chu Teh, and Li Teh-chuan, chairman of the Chinese Red Cross. Her husband, construction engineer Henry Willcox, broke in:

> "What I can't get over is how this fine, modern, fireproof hotel was completed in 17 weeks. Let me tell you we don't consider ourselves low. We built 10,000 New York apartments in the past five years—but never anything like this."

"EVERYBODY SINGS": "I am struck by Peking's indescribable beauty," said Edwin H. Cerney, San Francisco artist and teacher. "What a paradise for the artist! I thought Paris more beautiful than Prague, but Peking is the best of all." Lewis Suzuki, American Nisei progressive, said:

> "My chief impression is the contrast with Japan. Here everybody sings; on Japanese streets people are silent — yet Japan had its chance of the same future after World War II but was robbed of it. . . . It seems a miracle that we have got here but nothing is a miracle when people make up their minds to it."

Talitha A. Gerlach, social worker from Ohio who has held high posts in the American Y.W.C.A., said:

> "I visited Pekings in the old days. The new impression is that it's a city of the people — it belongs to them. The new buildings are as beautiful as the old. And that big cluster of new buildings housing the Ministry of Foreign Trade — you only have to see that to know China isn't isolated and doesn't intend to be. Through the people, the western and eastern hemispheres are getting closer, not further apart. . . . All of us are aware of the shameful role our country is playing in the world, and we wondered how we would be greeted. Well, we were accepted completely with genuine friendship — which shows the people just don't believe ordinary Americans will support the policy of enmity toward Asia."

THEY DON'T LIKE IT

Part of a group protesting to Japanese Foreign Vice Minister Shibusawa (c) against the refusal by the Foreign Office to issue them passports for the peace conference in Peking.

THE NEW OPEN DOOR: Said Walter Illsley from Muskegon, Mich.:

> "There's a wonderful enthusiasm and sincerity here. In this hotel we see big delegations from all parts of the world, many of whom overcame great difficulties to get here and may have unpleasant consequences to face when they return. But they all take it in their stride, confidently, as part of the job to be done for peace. Many of them come from countries whose only previous contact, one with another, was one of bitter friction. Yet here they are coming together to China, whose doors are wide open for seekers of peace. Think how hard it is for anyone to come to America on an errand of peace these days! Everyone here understands this is not the fault of the American people — which is the reason for the warm feelings toward our delegation."

Isobel Milton Cerney of San Francisco said:

> "All Northern Californians are concerned about the loss of China trade — not only waterfront workers, but even Chambers of Commerce. Tens of thousands of Californians signed petitions for immediate cease-fire in Korea, an end to barbarous warfare carried on by the U.S., and to return our boys home. We San Franciscans are proud of our city as the birthplace of the UN — but our opera house was used for signing the Washington 'Peace Treaty' with Japan which was so bad that India and Burma refused to sign it. We protest that Japan must not be rearmed and the liberation movements in Asia must be recognized as a great historic fact.
>
> "My husband and I as delegates of the Northern California Peace Council, and the rest of us representing other sections of the American people, come here determined to find a peaceful solution of the problems of peoples bordering the Pacific. We're deeply happy to find so many others here for the same purpose."

●

ISRAEL EPSTEIN, a China-born American, is the author of The Unfinished Revolution in China. A prisoner of the Japanese in World War II, he came to the U.S. after the war, returned to work in China a year ago.

FARM

Iowa FU re-elects Stover by big margin

EVER since the top leadership of the Natl. Farmers Union plumped for the Truman Administration and blessed both the cold and Korean wars, efforts have been made to oust or silence Fred W. Stover, president of the union's Iowa organization and one of the country's staunchest peace advocates. A year ago he was forced into court action to maintain his leadership. His opposition then set about to remove him at this year's 38th annual convention. A week ago the Des Moines **Register**, bitterly anti-Stover, reported the result:

> **It had been expected that anti-Stover forces would put up a fight, but when the time came to count votes and register applause, those opposing Stover were swamped.**

With 181 registered delegates, Stover won re-election by a vote of 133 to 46; vice-president Lee Harthan was re-elected by a similar margin.

WHY INCOMES FELL: A convention report revealed that the Iowa organization increased its membership by 26%

FRED STOVER
The harvest was good

in the past year; in the same period, NFU total membership in other states decreased by 20% as reported to a natl. board meeting in Denver this month.

A preamble to resolutions adopted by the convention blamed the war economy for falling incomes for farmers and city workers alike:

> **The first farm casualty of the Korean war was the Brannan Plan. Farmers were told that the war economy would make a full farm program unnecessary. . . .**
>
> **In spite of and because of the billions poured into the economic bloodstream for war, the condition of the farmers and city workers has become rapidly worse. The war prosperity myth is exploding as profit reports of many corporations show peak levels while net farm income after deducting operating costs is expected by the Dept. of Agriculture to be at a ten-year low in 1952, a shrinkage of $3,500,000,000 for this year compared to five years ago. . . .**
>
> **As the economic squeeze on the family farmers increases and the young farm manpower is taken away from the country to the armed forces, the burden on many farm families has approached the breaking point.**

ATTITUDE ON ELECTIONS: For its own resolution on price supports, the convention was brief and pointed:

> **A price support program with full parity as the floor on all major farm commodities with floors at above parity for some selected commodities to whatever extent such increases are indicated by production costs.**

The convention endorsed no Presidential candidate, but had this to say for the major parties:

> **With the war program dragging the whole economy to the brink of chaos, the politicians, united on foreign policy, bid for the farm vote.**
>
> **The administration's followers, having abandoned their own Brannan Plan, now only propose support floors for a few of the commodities, and those at 10% less than full parity. The Republicans, staunch proponents of the "sliding scale" [of price supports], vaguely talk of parity in the "market place." Farm leaders who visit the candidates come back with no commitments for the farmers themselves that will add up on the agricultural balance sheet.**
>
> **Experience has taught the farmers in Iowa that campaign oratory has no cash value after the elections are over and the votes counted. They have learned that in the last analysis the farmers' own salvation lies in their own organized strength around a program corresponding to their vital, basic needs.**

BARGAIN FOR PEACE: A separate resolution suggests that it

> **. . . might be necessary to raise funds in the Farmers Union to finance another trip to Washington later in the winter to press our demands upon the new Congress and bring our problems into focus.**

In its resolution on foreign policy the convention said:

> **Let us try to strike a bargain with those with whom we are fighting in the cold war on the basis of a mutuality of interest through world development along peaceful lines so that all of us can lay down our arms.**

Another resolution demanded that "farm youth needed at home be deferred" from the draft. A civil rights resolution called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran Acts.

Chicago

Big Victory Celebration

2 FREE, NOW FREE ALL SMITH ACT VICTIMS!
WHAT'S HAPPENING IN FOLEY SQUARE?

Get a first-hand inside story from one of the defendants five months on trial whose case was thrown out of court:

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CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in town meeting tradition. MARTIN HALL, every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Don.: 60c.

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM opens Fri., Oct. 10, 8 p.m., **CAREY McWILLIAMS**, speaker: "The Independent Voter Views the Election." Monthly to May. Jerome Davis, Scott Nearing, I. F. Stone, Robert M. Hutchins, The Overstreets, Pierre van Paassen, Owen Lattimore. Adm. 75c & $1, SEASON PASS $5, 2936 W. 8th St., office or mail.

COMMITTEE FOR ROSENBERG CASE meets every Monday night, 8:30 p.m., at Park View Manor, 2200 W. 7th St. Join us in our fight to free not only the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, but for freedom for all peoples.

Oakland-Berkeley

SIDNEY ROGER - ASP FORUM. Noted liberal commentator analyzes news. Audience discussion. Every TUESDAY night, 8:15 p.m. Donation 50c. New ASP Gallery, 5919 Grove, Oakland.

MEETING IN HONOR of **Reuben Borough**, Tues., Oct. 14, 8 p.m., Finnish Hall, 1010 10th St. Musical entertainment, talk by Borough, refreshments, dancing; plus film "Peace Is On The Ballot."

Chicago

SAT., OCT. 18, 8 P.M. Come to the home of Julia Vavra, 2700 N. Merrimac. Free refreshments. Donation $1. For Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.

KILL TWO BIRDS WITH ONE TICKET! Oct. 11 & 12 are Illinois PP Movie nights in Chicago. See unprecedented film spectacle "Grand Concert" plus "Life of Donizetti" and help the Illinois PP '52 Write-in Campaign Fund. Get tickets from PP, 166 W. Washington, RA 6-9270. Admission: 74c.

WED., OCT. 15 IS THE DAY! Your questions answered. Come and bring "Doubting Thomas" friends to our "Talk It Over" with Vince Hallinan. Also Betty Sanders, famed folk singer, and Quaker Peace movie, "Time for Greatness." Ausp: Illinois PP, UE Hall, 37 S. Asland. Admission: $1.

New York

"OUR CHILDREN NEED PEACE, AS FLOWERS NEED SUNLIGHT"—this was theme of Conference for the Defense of Children held at Vienna this past summer. Hear an eyewitness report by **MRS. JEANETTE TURNER**, who attended conference and also travelled thru Germany and will relate her experiences there. FRI., OCT. 3, 8 p.m., Yugoslav-American Home, 405 W. 41st St. Musicale and Refreshments. Adm: Free. Auspices: THE GERMAN AMERICAN, 130 E. 16th St., New York 3.

ENJOY A SOCIAL EVENING with 3rd A.D. No. ALP at 2328 Broadway, near 84th St. (1 flight up). Sat., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. Music, dancing, entertainment, refreshments. Donation: $1.

ALP PARTY. Sat., Oct. 4, 8:30 till ? 166 Thompson St. (nr. W. Houston St.) Welcome Baby Randy with pledge to work for peaceful world for all babies. Cont.: 75c.

Wisconsin

VINCENT HALLINAN will make two appearances in Wisconsin. Don't forget the dates and places: Oct. 11—Eagle Hall, Madison; Oct. 12—Odd Fellows Hall, 745 N. 10th, Milwaukee. Also: Oct 13—Minneapolis, Minn. Oct. 14—Duluth, Minn.

CLASSIFIED

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General

BETTER PICTURES FOR LESS MONEY. Jumbo enlargements in super-pak album, 8 exp. roll 35c, 12 exp. 50c, 16 exp. 65c. Reprints 4c each. **RETURNED SAME DAY RECEIVED.** Write for free mailers. Pal Film Service, Blvd. P.O. Box G 123, New York 59, N.Y.

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New Jersey

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CHARLOTTA BASS, for Vice President
KATHARINE VAN ORDEN, for U.S. Senate from N.J.
CORLISS LAMONT, for U.S. Senate from N.Y.

— at the —

GIANT PEACE ELECTION RALLY

FRI., OCT. 10 — 8 P.M.
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Resorts

ATTENTION ALL ORGANIZATIONS: CAMP MIDVALE, Nature Friends adult, interracial camp offers its facilities to all organizations for conventions, picnics, etc., at special, reduced rates. For further information write Midvale Camp Corp., Midvale, N.J. (only 1 hr. from NYC).

THE LAW

2 N. Y. Smith Act defendants freed

FOR two days last week defense attorneys argued for a directed verdict of acquittal of 15 N. Y. Communist leaders charged under the Smith Act with conspiring to advocate forcible overthrow of the government. They contended that in five months, using ten witnesses, the government had failed to produce any proof against any of the defendants. On Tuesday Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock freed two defendants, denied the acquittal motion for the remaining 13. Released were:

SIMON W. GERSON, legislative director of the N. Y. State Communist Party and currently a candidate for Congress from Brooklyn's 13th CD (more than 4,000 citizens signed his nominating petition while he was under trial).

ISIDORE BEGUN, former head of the Bronx County organization of the Communist Party.

Judge Dimock made his ruling on the basis of insufficient evidence, but told the jury that it was for "questions of law" and not of fact and that it must have "no bearing whatsoever on your deliberations" concerning the remaining defendants.

WHAT IT MEANS: To the defense, the acquittals were a meaningful triumph. The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference said:

"The partial victory—the first crack in the deep-seated Justice Dept. conspiracy to silence free speech and thought—must become the lever by which to free all Smith Act victims and repeal the infamous Smith Act itself."

The two freed defendants said in a joint statement:

"There remains the job of winning the acquittal of all the remaining defendants in all Smith Act cases, amnesty for those convicted, and repeal of the iniquitous act. All Americans who love peace and democracy, who stand for the Bill of Rights, should support that fight."

Former Congressman Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the American Labor Party, said:

"The acquittal of Gerson and Begun is the first major breakdown in the lines of those who would destroy the constitutional liberties of the American people. It is an important victory in the fight for the preservation of the constitutional rights of the Communists, which in turn is the first line of defense of the democratic rights of all Americans."

The Citizens Emergency Defense Committee announced a victory rally for the two at New York's St. Nicholas Arena for Oct. 6. (The Civil Rights Congress announced a birthday celebration for another Smith Act victim, Gus Hall, now serving a five-year sentence under a Smith Act conviction and three years imposed for contempt as a fugitive; it will be held Oct. 10 at New York's Yugoslav Hall.)

THE NEW 18: But while two Smith Act victims were freed in New York, 18 more were indicted during the week in Detroit, St. Louis and Seattle. Two of them, William Allan, Detroit correspondent for the **Daily Worker,** and Helen Allison Winter, wife of one of the ten top CP leaders convicted in 1949, were free on $5,000 bail each.

A third, William J. Pennock, president of the powerful Pension Union in Washington, was free on $10,000. His release came in time for him to preside at the convention of his organizaton, which re-elected him by acclamation to his 10th consecutive term. Others of the 18 were still held in bail ranging from $10,000 to $40,000.

Trenton 2 appeal near

Collis English, one of the famed Trenton Six, has had six heart attacks while in prison; doctors have warned that a seventh might be fatal. But last week Sanford Bates, New Jersey's Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies, still had not granted a recent request of English's mother that he be permitted to undergo an operation in New York.

English and Ralph Cooper are the last of the original six still in prison; the others were freed by a jury last year after three trials. A reversal of death sentences against all six followed world-wide protests against a frame-up first exposed in the GUARDIAN. An appeal against life sentences for the two will be heard some time this month; the state filed a brief opposing their release with the Supreme Court a week ago.

The book you need NOW

While danger daily increases of the cold war becoming World War III, most Americans have been tricked into apathy. They cannot act because the facts have been deliberately kept from them about how it began, who began it, and why.

These facts have been put together with masterly and irrefutable documentation by Carl Marzani in a 384-page indexed book **We Can Be Friends** (Topical Books, 111 W. 88th St., N. Y. C. 24; $1). It will be reviewed in the GUARDIAN next week.

The issue of war or peace is overriding for all America. The elections are a month away. The GUARDIAN urges you to write or wire today for this historically timely book.

(See Urgent—All Readers!, p. 2.)

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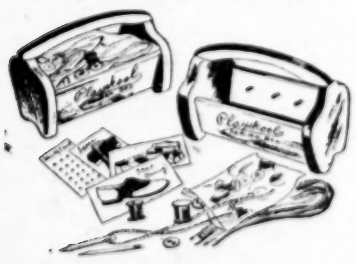

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National Guardian commissioned a group of the nation's best young progressive artists to prepare a set of holiday cards for the 1952-53 season. The result—some of the handsomest designs we have ever seen. The set includes eight distinctive, delightful seasonal themes (depicted above) designed to meet varying tastes and suitable to send any member of your family or any of your friends. We have silk-screen printed the cards in four colors. Similar cards sell for 25c each. The cards are available only through Guardian Buying Service and will not be sold elsewhere.

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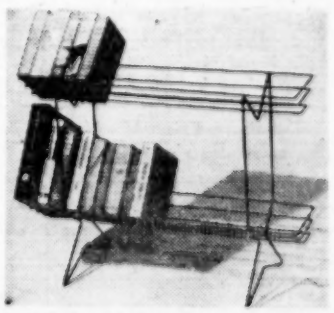

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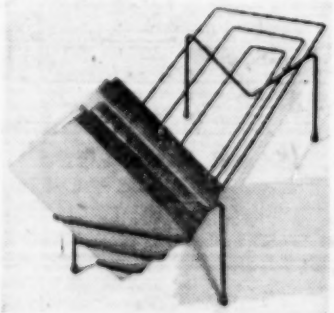

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MINE-MILL UNION'S PROGRAM

For a world at peace

By Victor Perlo

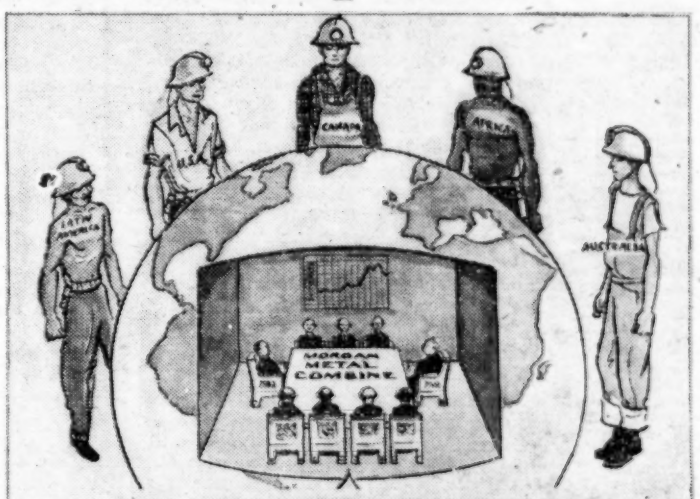
HOPE is the lost element among millions of Americans who are disgusted with the bi-partisan war program—tangible hope for a peaceful alternative that will work in terms of the problems they see and know.

Paralyzed by fear that we can only jump from war economy to depression and unemployment, these millions do not fight **against** the war program because they do not know what to fight **for.**

The GUARDIAN has presented (May 1) in some detail the Progressive Party program for peace and prosperity. But a general, national program is not enough. To be inspired by such a program, a person must see how it will help his town, his union, him personally. For 200,000 non-ferrous metal workers, this job has now been done by the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers in a 64-page book, **A World at Peace—a Program for Peaceful Production.** Here is the outline of the tangible alternative as set forth and documented by Mine-Mill researchers:

BUILD AMERICA: Raise wages, lower workers' taxes, cut the work-week, expand social security, end wage discrimination—all workers will benefit. Build 2 million homes per year—not only will mine-mill workers get decent places to live in, but careful calculations show that 18,000 more will get jobs providing metals for the increased housing construction. Similarly with schools, hospitals, rural electrification, valley development.

Planned development of the Mountain West, where most Mine-Mill members live, will open a new "Western Frontier." The area could support twice its present population at a much higher standard of living, and end its status as a colonial appendage of eastern industry.



TIME FOR US TO GET TOGETHER, TOO

Around the table: Newmont, American Metal, Kennecott, Phelps-Dodge, A. S. R., St. Joseph Lead, Rhodesian Copper Co., Anaconda, International Nickel.
(Illustration from "A World at Peace")

Altogether, the domestic planks of the Mine-Mill program would provide 45,000 jobs in non-ferrous mines, smelters and refineries, and more in fabricating plants.

PEACE JOBS: Up to 70,000 jobs in the non-ferrous metals industries could ultimately be provided by Mine-Mill's proposals to build foreign markets—end barriers to East-West trade, establish a UN Intl. Development Authority for development of colonial and near-colonial countries, "without any political or economic interference." Most important, Mine-Mill proposes:

> **. . . Active support to demands for independence and freedom of colonial peoples throughout the world . . ., by providing representative government and land reform.**

The book does not foster pie-in-the-sky illusions:

> **Such a program can only be achieved by overcoming great resistance from the entrenched monopolies and their agents in government.**

THE ENEMY: To overcome the enemy, one must know his face. Mine-Mill's Research Dept. has included a graphic, well-documented portrait of the section of the enemy camp it faces—the Morgan metal trust. The chains of this trust bind the workers of the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Rhodesia, Morocco, S.-W. Africa, and more. Its key men are prominent organizers of the war program, incuding Dulles, Lucius D. Clay and Dixiecrat James F. Byrnes. The trust has made unprecedented profits out of their program, used it to get control of many more mines in various countries.

The Morgan trust has long specialized in playing off one country's workers against another's through extreme wage differentials and shifting production from place to place. U. S. workers have been hurt by this before, and are especially menaced for the future as Morgan-controlled production in Africa expands.

WORLD ALLIES: To fight this threat, Mine-Mill places maximum stress on international labor unity:

> **It's time for spokesmen of the miners of Butte to get acquainted with leaders of the miners at Chuquicamata. They work for the same boss; they have a lot in common. . . The metal workers of other countries are engaged in heavy struggles to improve their living standards. . . . These workers are not only fighting for themselves; they are also fighting for us. The time has come for us to consider ways and means of fighting together with them.**

Accordingly, Mine-Mill is planning delegations to South America, Africa and Europe to establish more effective cooperation with their non-ferrous metal workers. It maintains fraternal relations with the World Fedn. of Trade Unions.

THE ROAD FORWARD: Mine-Mill would weaken the Morgan metals trust by aid to small independent operators; through UN assistance to other countries to develop their resources without the trust; through UN allocation of metals according to needs, without interference of the metals cartels. (The book calls for "action to smash the Morgan metal combine," but doesn't spell out the action. This section of the program should be filled in as it is discussed among mine workers, and as its base is broadened in consultation with other unions.)

The position taken against the present war program is clear and sharp. Mine-Mill proposes spending for peace instead of for war; it exposes the war-breeding profiteers; it calls for great power cooperation and international labor unity, for colonial independence. All these features make the book an outstanding contribution by a section of the American Labor movement to the cause of peace.

Earlier this year, Mine-Mill took the initiative to organize a broad movement for peaceful jobs in Connecticut. Through this book it extends this leadership to the national field. It sets an example for other unions which, if followed, can play a key role in turning the tide from war to peace, from reaction to progress.

●

The Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union plans to publish **A World at Peace** shortly in small, popular form for general sale. Address inquiries to the union's research dept., Suite 412, Tabor Bldg., Denver, Colo.

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